

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BONN 20306 040737Z
ACTION CU-03

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 (ISO) W
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P R 020958Z DEC 76
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO USIA WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3770
AMCONSUL HAMBURG
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L BONN 20306

USIAC

S E C O N D C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (MISSING TEXT AFTER QUOTE:)

SECSTATE FOR CU/ACS, RPM
USIA FOR IEU, IOP, IGC

THE FOLLOWING TELEGRAM IS BEING REPEATED TO YOU:

QUOTE:

R 301451Z MOV 76
FM AMCONSUL HAMBURG
TO AMEMBASSY BONN
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L HAMBURG 1647

USIAC

FOR DICKERMAN

E.O. 11652: GDS
SUBJECT: CSCE ENCOUNTER-NOVEMBER 27-28 BERGEDORFER GESPRACHSKREIS

1. TWO DAY SYMPOSIUM "DETENTE SINCE HELSINKI -- AN INTERIM
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ASSESSMENT" SPONSORED BY BERGEDORFER GESPRACHSKREIS WAS ATTENDED

BY HIGH LEVEL ACADEMICS, JOURNALISTS, AND GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES FROM U.S., WEST AND EAST GERMANY, USSR, BRITAIN, FRANCE, AUSTRIA, BELGIUM, SWITZERLAND, HUNGARY AND POLAND. BRIEF FORMAL PRESENTATIONS MADE ON FIRST DAY BY LEONARD MARKS FOR U.S. AND GEORGIJ ARBATOV FOR USSR. #SECOND DAY PRESENTATIONS MADE BY RYSZARD WOJNA OF "TRIBUNA LUDU," WARSAW, AND THEO SOMMER, "DIE ZEIT," HAMBURG. REMAINDER OF 14-HOUR CONFERENCE DEVOTED TO DISCUSSIONS.

2. IN OPENING STATEMENT, MARKS CONFINED HIMSELF EXCLUSIVELY TO PROBLEMS OF BASKET III. HE STRESSED THAT IN AMERICAN VIEW "HUMAN RIGHTS ARE AS IMPORTANT TO PEACEKEEPING AS IS DISARMAMENT." MARKS NOTED THAT SOME SMALL STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN IN BASKET III AREA, BUT CERTAINLY NOT ENOUGH TO BE ADEQUATE. HE CALLED FOR FULFILLMENT OF ALL PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT, POINTING OUT THAT SELECTIVE FULFILLMENT WILL NOT BE ACCEPTABLE.

3. LATER DURING FIRST DAY, SHULMAN COMMENTED HE DETECTED CONSIDERABLE DISCOURAGEMENT IN PARTICIPANTS' COMMENTS ON DETENTE AFTER HELSINKI. HE POINTED OUT THAT PROGRESS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS HAS IMPROVED IN ECONOMIC AND EXCHANGE AREAS, THOUGH NOT ENOUGH. HOWEVER, ARMS RACE CONTINUES, ECONOMIC RELATIONS HAVE NOT IMPROVED AS MUCH AS EXPECTED, AND NOT ENOUGH IMPROVEMENT SEEN IN HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS. SUGGESTED PART OF PROBLEM WAS THAT SIGNATORIES ENTERED INTO HELSINKI WITH DIFFERENT INTERESTS. HE NOTED SOVIET MILITARY BUILD-UP AND CONFESSED IT HARD TO UNDERSTAND IN LIGHT OF ANNOUNCED INTENTIONS AT HELSINKI. NOTED BASKET II PROGRESS IS INDEED RELATED IN AMERICAN MINDS WITH PROGRESS IN OTHER BASKETS. HZ URGED SOVIETS NOT TO UNDERESTIMATE THE SINCERITY OF CONCERN OF AMERICAN PEOPLE OVER HUMANITARIAN ISSUES.

4. BRUCE VAN VOORST (MEMBER OF SENATOR BICK CLARK'S STAFF) SPOKE DURING THE SECOND DAY EMPHASIZING THAT TO MANY AMERICANS CSCE HAS COME TO SYMBOLIZE THE ENTIRE PROCESS OF DETENTE. MOVEMENT ON SALT, MFN, AND SO ON MAY WELL BE DEPENDENT ON PERCEPTION OF SOVIET FULFILLMENT OF PROVISIONS OF FINAL ACT. HE TOO WARNED THE SOVIETS NOT TO INTERPRET AMERICAN CONCERN WITH MORALITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS AS A POLITICAL OR ELECTION PLOY. IT IS, WHETHER OTHERS LIKE IT OR NOT, AN INTEGRAL AND BASIC ATTITUDE IN AMERICAN SOCIAL VALUES. HE ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER SOVIET AND EE REFUSAL TO CONFIDENTIAL

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ISSUE VISAS TO THE CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE.O

5. AFTER CONFERENCE, AMERICAN PARTICIPANTS (LEONARD MARKS, MARSHALL SHULMAN, AND BRUCE VAN VOORST) DREW FOLLOWING CONCLUSIONS:

A. NO NEW SUGGESTIONS OR INITIATIVES SURFACED BY ANYONE. POSITIONS TAKEN FAIRLY CONSISTENT WITH KNOWN POSITIONS AND ATTITUDES. HOWEVER WOJNA'S FORMAL PRESENTATION WAS MORE HARD LINE THAN MIGHT

HAVE BEEN EXPECTED FROM POLES. SOVIET STATEMENTS APPARENTLY INTENDED TO BE CONCILIATORY, BUT DID NOT ALWAYS HAVE THAT EFFECT.

B. WESTERN PARTICIPANTS UNANIMOUS IN EXPRESSION OF DISAPPOINTMENT RE MINIMUM PROGRESS SEEN IN BASKET III. WEST EUROPEANS PUSHED ISSUE AND WARNED SOVIETS NOT TO INTERPRET EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN THIS AREA ONLY AS AMERICAN ELECTION OR POLITICAL RHETORIC. THEY REJECTED OUT OF HAND SOVIET AND EE PARTICIPANTS' ARGUMENT THAT INTEREST IN DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS AREA CONSTITUTES INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. FREQUENTLY REFERRED TO MINIMAL COST TO EE STATES IN ALLOWING MARRIAGES BETWEEN FOREIGN NATIONALS AND REUNITING OF FAMILIES.

C. NOTED HARDENING WEST EUROPEAN ATTITUDE IN BASKET I APPARENTLY DUE GROWING CONCERN OVER SOVIET TROOP DEPLOYMENTS AND UPGRADING OF EXISTING UNITS ALONG WEST EUROPEAN BORDERS. SEVERAL PARTICIPANTS WARNED WEST WOULD BE FORCED INCREASE ARMAMENTS THEMSELVES. ARBATOV COUNTERED WITH STATISTICAL SLEIGHTS OF HAND BUT WESTERN PARTICIPANTS TOTALLY UNCONVINCED.

D. AT ONE POINT SOVIET PARTICIPANT ALEXANDER BOVIN (IZVESTIYA) INTER ALIA MENTIONED THAT WHILE THE SOVIET UNION WILL NOT INCITE VIOLENT ACTIVITY BY POPULAR LIBERATION FRONTS, IT WILL HAVE TO SUPPORT SUCH ACTIVITIES ONCE BEGUN. WEST EUROPEAN REACTION WAS IMMEDIATE AND SHARP TO IMPLICATIONS OF SUCH SUPPORT AND CONDEMNED IT AS NOT CONSISTENT WITH SPIRIT AND LETTER OF HELSINKI.

E. MARSHALL SHULMAN NOTED MORE EXPLICIT SOVIET EMPHASIS ON INTEREST IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE (MARGARITA MAXIMOVA OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC INSTITUTE) THAN HAS BEEN THEIR LINE OF LATE. SHULMAN FURTHER NOTED THAT IT IS STRANGE THAT ARBATOV WAS NOT RETURNING TO MOSCOW (PLANS TO GO ON TO BONN) FOR US-USSR TRADE AND ECONOMIC COUNCIL TALKS IN MOSCOW THIS WEEK. #HE SAID ARBATOV HAD ATTENDED
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IN PAST. SHULMAN SPECULATED THAT ARBATOV MAY HAVE BEEN EASED OUT OF PICTURE AND STAYING ABROAD DURING MEETING MAY BE ARBATOV'S WAY OF BUILDING EXCUSE FOR NOT ATTENDING.

F. GERMAN PARTICIPANT (DR. KLAUS BLECH, MFA) RAISED PROBLEM OF EXTENDED CREDITS AND GROWING DEBTS FOR SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. THOUGHT NO PROBLEMS AS YET FOR SOVIETS, BUT SAID BULGARIA, HUNGARY AND POLAND HAVE PERHAPS OVERDRAWN THEIR ABILITY TO REPAY. PROBLEM IS OF GROWING CONCERN IN WEST. SOVIETS AND EE PARTICIPANTS ARGUED NO PROBLEM EXISTS.

G. SECOND DAY OF CONFERENCE WITNESSED FLARE-UP BETWEEN GDR AND FEDERAL REPUBLIC PARTICIPANTS. BORDER SHOOTINGS AND WOLF BIERMANN MENTIONED. EAST GERMANS WERE CITED BY SEVERAL WESTERN PARTICIPANTS AS BEING MOST DIFFICULT TO DEAL WITH ON BASKET III SUBJECTS.

H. COMPLETE INTRANSIGENCE ON PART OF SOVIETS ON RL/RFE. IN CORRIDOR CONVERSATION ARBATOV PREDICTED WEAKENING OF EUROPEAN SUPPORT FOR THESE STATIONS.

I. DISCUSSION OF NORTH-SOUTH PROBLEMS TRIED BY SEVERAL PARTICIPANTS, BUT SOVIET REACTION WAS THAT THEY ARE NOT GOING TO DO ANYTHING TO HELP ELIMINATE POST-COLONIAL PROBLEMS FOR EX-COLONIALS AND THAT THEY ARE DOING ENOUGH TO HELP ERADICATE UNDERDEVELOPMENT ANYWAY.

J. SOVIETS (ARBATOV) MADE STRONG PITCH THAT BELGRADE CONFERENCE BE CONSTRUCTIVE. EVERYONE AGREED. MANY FELT THAT CONFERENCE DEVOTED TO PURE REVIEW OF WHAT HAD OR HAD NOT BEEN ACCOMPLISHED SINCE HELSINKI WOULD BE STERILE EXERCISE. ACIMOVIC (INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND ECONOMICS AND MEMBER OF YUGOSLAV PLANNING GROUP FOR CONFERENCE) SUGGESTED PLANNING MEETINGS SHOULD BE FAIRLY LOW LEVEL. WE ARE NOT CLEAR FROM CONTEXT OF HIS REMARKS WHETHER OR NOT HE WAS REFLECTING ONLY HIS OWN VIEWS. WHEN ASKED IN PRIVATE WHOM SOVIETS WOULD SEND, ARBATOV SAID IT DEPENDED ON HOW THEY ASSESSED THE LIKELIHOOD OF SUCCESS WHEN THE TIME CAME. THEIR REPRESENTATION WILL BE LOW INDEED IF THEY ANTICIPATE A "CIRCUS," HE SAID.

6. AMERICAN PARTICIPANTS FELT IT WAS OF CRITICAL IMPORTANCE THAT U.S.#MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO COORDINATE POSITIONS AND VIEWS FOR BELGRADE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WITH WEST EUROPEANS.

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7. FOR CU/ACS: MARKS PLANS ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON DECEMBER 3 AND WILL BE AVAILABLE FOR DEBRIEFING.

8. ORGANIZERS WILL PREPARE TRANSCRIPTS OF DISCUSSIONS. USIS HAMBURG WILL ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN COPIES AS SOON AS AVAILABLE.

9. MARKS REQUESTS COPY THIS CABLE BE SENT CU/ACS.KISELYAK

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